

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 LISBON 05101 01 OF 02 120709Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 COME-00 /108 W  
-----101141 120841Z /10

R 111606Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6285  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
USINT HAVANA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL OPORTO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAIA  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION USNATO  
DIA WASH DC  
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS BEL  
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PAGE 02 LISBON 05101 01 OF 02 120709Z

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 5101

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: PEPR AO PO US  
SUBJ: THE EANES-NETO SUMMIT: A FOREIGN MINISTRY VIEW  
  
REF: LISBON 4859 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AFRICA DIRECTOR BELIEVES GPRA PRESIDENT NETO HAD COMPELLING REASONS TO WORK FOR A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT WITH PRESIDENT EANES. NETO REPEATEDLY MANIFESTED HIS DESIRE TO SEE THE MEETING SUCCEED. THE GOP WILL PRESS HARD, BUT CAREFULLY, TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM GENERATED IN BISSAU. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF MET WITH DR. PAULOIRO DAS NEVES, DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S AFRICA AND ASIA DIVISION, JULY 10 TO DISCUSS THE EANES-NETO SUMMIT. NEVES, WHO ACCOMPANIED PRESIDENT EANES, BELIEVED NETO WANTED A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT AS MUCH AS THE GOP DID. NEVES' ANALYSIS:

2. GROWING ISOLATION: NETO AND THE MPLA ARE UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THE GROWING POLITICAL COSTS OF THE SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE. BECAUSE OF THAT PRESENCE, ANGOLA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO GENERATE MUCH WESTERN SUPPORT AND IS LOSING WHATEVER PRESTIGE IT HAD IN AFRICA. CUBAN EFFORTS TO PROVIDE BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES AND PROMOTE ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL.

3. ISOLATION COMPOUNDED: IN THIS CONTEXT OF GROWING ISOLATION, TWO RECENT EVENTS HAVE COMPOUNDED THE FEARS OF NETO AND THE MPLA:

--THE SOUTH AFRICAN RAID ON KASSINGA; AND  
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PAGE 03 LISBON 05101 01 OF 02 120709Z

--WESTERN AND AFRICAN REACTION TO SHABA II.  
THE ANGOLANS FEEL THAT AN INTER-AFRICAN FORCE, UNDER WHATEVER GUISE, WILL BE DIRECTED AT THEM. THE SPECTRE OF A ZAIRE BASED INTER-AFRICAN FORCE, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY SUPPORTED BY THE WEST, COUPLED WITH THE ALWAYS-PRESENT SOUTH AFRICAN THREAT IN THE SOUTH, HAS FRIGHTENED THE ANGOLANS. NETO'S KNOWLEDGE THAT FAPLA TROOPS ARE RELATIVELY INEFFECTIVE AND GROWING DOUBTS THAT THE CUBANS WOULD FIGHT THE SOUTH AFRICANS OR AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE HAVE ADDED TO HIS WORRY. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, NETO'S PARTICIPATION IN THE BISSAU SUMMIT WAS A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO FIND MANEUVERING ROOM.

4. NETO MAKES HIS POINT: DURING THE BISSAU MEETINGS, NETO REPEATEDLY IMPRESSED THE PORTUGUESE WITH HIS GOOD WILL:

--PORTUGUESE PRISONERS: THE GOP AND GPRA PRESENTED DIFFERING LISTS OF PRISONERS HELD BY THE GPRA. UPON DISCOVERING THIS, NETO IMMEDIATELY ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GOP CASES NOT ON THE NAGOLAN LIST, AND ASSURED THE GOP OF PROMPT REPORTS.

--ECONOMIC ISSUES: AT NETO'S INSISTENCE, THE GPRA AGREED

TO A FORMAL JOINT INVESTIGATION OF NATIONALIZED PORTUGUESE ASSETS IN ANGOLA. THE GPRA HAD PREVIOUSLY REFUSED TO DISCUSS THE NATIONALIZATIONS, WHICH NEVES SAID RAN INTO THE "BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF CONTOS (1000 ESCUDOS)".

--COOPERATION AGREEMENT: WHEN ANGOLAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAULO JORGE BALKED AT SIGNING THE JOINT COOPERATION AGREEMENT, CLAIMING THE MPLA POLITBURO MUST FIRST APPROVE, NETO OVERRULED HIM AND AGREED TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT IN BISSAU.

5. NETO IN COMMAND: NEVES WAS IMPRESSED BY NETO'S INTELLECT AND POLITICAL SKILL. NETO WAS IN CHARGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FONMIN JORGE DID NOT MAKE A MOVE WITHOUT FIRST CHECKING WITH NETO. IN THE CONVERSATIONS, NETO'S IMPORTANCE AS A BALANCER OF FORCES WITHIN THE MPLA WAS CLEAR.  
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PAGE 04 LISBON 05101 01 OF 02 120709Z

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PAGE 01 LISBON 05101 02 OF 02 120724Z  
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PAGE 02 LISBON 05101 02 OF 02 120724Z

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 5101

6. NETO'S HEALTH: NETO APPEARED TO BE IN GOOD HEALTH, NEVES SAID, ALTHOUGH OTHERS WHO KNEW HIM THOUGHT HE HAD AGED CONSIDERABLY AND NOTICED HE SPOKE AND MOVED MORE SLOWLY THAN BEFORE.

7. PORTUGUESE SATISFIED: THE GOP IS PLEASED WITH THE SUMMIT RESULTS, AND WILL MOVE QUICKLY BUT CAREFULLY TO IMPLEMENT THE COOPERATION AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: A REVIEW OF NEXT STEPS AND AN ASSESSMENT OF THE GOP ABILITY TO PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA WILL BE SUBJECT OF SEPTTEL).

8. SPILLOVER ON MOZAMBIQUE: PRESIDENT EANES BRIEFED MOZAMBIKAN AMBASSADOR PANGUENE PRIOR TO THE SUMMIT. NEVES SAID THE GPRM SUPPORTED THE PORTUGUESE EFFORT. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IS NOW "STUDYING" THE POSSIBILITY OF A EANES-MACHEL MEETING. GPRM FONMIN CHISSANO HAS ALREADY BEEN INVITED TO VISIT PORTUGAL AND A EANES-MACHEL MEETING MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IF CHISSANO VISITS PORTUGAL ENROUTE TO OR FROM UNGA.

9. RISING STAR: EMBOFF MENTIONED THAT DURING AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S JUNE 22-25 VISIT TO LUANDA THE ANGOLAN SIDE HAD BEEN LED BY NASCIMENTO AND PASCOAL LUVUALU. NEVES COMMENTED THAT THE GPRA APPEARS TO BE GROOMING LUVUALU FOR A LARGER ROLE IN ANGOLAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND BELIEVED LUVUALU MAY SHORTLY ASSUME A POSITION AS VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. NEVES HASTENED TO ADD THAT THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT FOREIGN MINISTER JORGE WILL BE REPLACED, ONLY THAT THE PRESS OF

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PAGE 03 LISBON 05101 02 OF 02 120724Z

BUSINESS KEEPS JORGE OUT OF ANGOLA A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF  
THE TIME.

10. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH NEVES EMPHASIZED THAT MUCH OF THE  
ABOVE WAS PERSONAL OPINION, HIS VIEWS ARE WIDELY SHARED IN  
THE MINISTRY. OF PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE IS THAT THE BISSAU  
SUMMIT FIRMLY ESTABLISHED THE GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT RELATIONS  
BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND ANGOLA REPLACING THE FORMER MPLA-PCP  
MONOPOLY. MUCH TO THE DELIGHT OF FOREIGN MINISTRY PROFESSIONALS,  
THEY ARE NOW INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN THE EVOLVING GOP-GPRA  
RELATIONSHIP.  
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## Message Attributes

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